

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 02536 01 OF 02 290845Z

ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 HA-05 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 TRSE-00 ( ISO ) W

-----020263 291014Z /10

R 290720Z MAR 78

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6049

INFO USMISSION USUN

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY OTTOWA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 2536

FOR EMBASSY CAPETOWN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: XA, WA, YO

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SWAPO'S POSITION ON EVENTUAL SETTLEMENT

1. DURING THE COURSE OF US-YUGOSLAV CONSULTATION ON UN DEVELOPMENTS, MR. PAVICEVIC BRIEFED DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY HELMAN ON RESULTS OF JUST CONCLUDED COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA MEETING IN LUSAKA. PAVICEVIC WAS YUGOSLAV REPRESENTATIVE AT THE MEETING AND OUTLINED MESSAGE WHICH SWAPO HAD COVEYED BOTH PUBLICLY TO COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA AND PRIVATELY TO VARIOUS MEMBERS OF COUNCIL, INCLUDING YUGOSLAVIA.

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PAGE 02 BELGRA 02536 01 OF 02 290845Z

2. WITH REGARD TO CONTACT GROUP NEGOTIATING EFFORT, PAVICEVIC SAID THAT SWAPO TOLD HIM PRIVATELY THAT NEGOTIATIONS ARE "FINISHED" AND THAT THE CONTACT GROUPS' PROPOSAL IS UNLIKELY TO MEET SWAPO'S MINIMAL CONDITIONS. CONSEQUENTLY, ARMED STRUGGLE IS THE ONLY RECOURSE AVAILABLE. SWAPO COULD NOT COOPERATE WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S "HENCHMAN" IN NAMIBIA AND

WILL PLAN TO WITHDRAW TO ANGOLA AND REGROUP.  
PAVICEVIC CONFIDED HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT SWAPO'S  
MILITARY ELEMENTS HAVE GRAVE RESERVATIONS WITH CONTACT GROUP  
PROPOSAL AND HAVE BEEN INFLUENTIAL IN INSURING THAT SWAPO'S  
REACTION WILL BE, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, NEGATIVE. AS  
PAVICEVIC REPORTED SWAPO'S POSITION, IT WAS CLEAR THAT  
SWAPO WAS SOUNDING SEVERAL THEMES THAT ITS LEADERSHIP  
BROUGHT UP DURING THE COURSE OF PROXIMITY TALKS IN NEW YORK:  
THAT WALVIS BAY ISSUE WAS CRITICAL; THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S  
RETENTION OF MILITARY FORCES IN WALVIS BAY MADE A MOCKERY  
OF ANY RESIDUAL FORCES ARRANGEMENT WHICH MIGHT BE WORKED  
OUT FOR NAMIBIA AS A WHOLE; THAT LITTLE CONFIDENCE COULD  
BE PLACED IN THE UN'S ROLE GIVEN CONGO EXPERIENCE AND  
PROVISION IN CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL THAT SYG'S SPECIAL  
REPRESENTATIVE WOULD HAVE AUTHORITY ONLY TO SATISFY  
HIMSELF REGARDING THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL'S ACTIVITIES,  
BUT NOT TO VETO.

3. PAVICEVIC EXPLAINED THAT THE COUNCIL HAD NO CHOICE BUT  
TO SUPPORT SWAPO'S POSITION ON THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE  
CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL; WHAT SATISFIES SWAPO WILL BE  
DEFINITIVE FOR THE COUNCIL. AS TO THE COUNCIL FOR  
NAMIBIA'S DECLARATION, PAVICEVIC SAID THAT  
THE UNITING FOR PEACE PROPOSAL WAS SPONSORED BY THE  
COUNCIL'S AFRICA GROUP AND THAT IT SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD  
AS INDICATIVE OF THE DIRECTION AFRICAN EFFORTS WILL TAKE  
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PAGE 03 BELGRA 02536 01 OF 02 290845Z

SHOULD THE SECURITY COUNCIL FAIL TO ADOPT THE MEASURES V  
NECESSARY TO FORCE SOUTH AFRICA TO GIVE UP ITS POSITION IN  
NAMIBIA. PAVICEVIC SAID THAT HE WAS UNAWARE OF ANY SPECIFIC  
ACTION PLANNED BY THE AFRICAN GROUP UNDER THE UNITING FOR  
PEACE PROPOSAL, BUT HE DID SAY THAT THE SOVIETS AND CHINA  
ARE UNHAPPY WITH THIS AFRICAN MANEUVER.

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 02536 02 OF 02 290832Z  
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SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 TRSE-00 ( ISO ) W

-----020262 291013Z /10

R 290720Z MAR 78

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6050

INFO USMISSION USUN

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY OTTOWA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 2536

4. HELMAN EXPLAINED THAT THE CONTACT GROUP'S CLARIFIED PROPOSAL WOULD LIKELY BE PRESENTED TO INTERESTED PARTIES WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL INVOLVEMENT IN THE MATTER IS FORESEEN FOR SOME TIME IN APRIL. HELMAN URGED YUGOSLAVIA TO USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH SWAPO AND WITH OTHER AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS ON BEHALF OF CONTACT GROUP EFFORT WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS BEING VERY LIKELY THE VERY BEST AND MOST REALISTIC PROPOSAL THAT COULD BE EXPECTED TO GAIN THE AGREEMENT OF ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED. HE POINTED TO DEVELOPMENTS IN RHODESIA, AND THE FAILURE OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TO GRASP THE OPPORTUNITY OFFERED LAST YEAR BY THE ANGO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL, AS A BASIS FOR URGING THAT SWAPO NOT MAKE THE SAME MISTAKE. A CONTINUING PROBLEM WHICH APPEARED TO  
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PAGE 02 BELGRA 02536 02 OF 02 290832Z

EXIST, WHICH YUGOSLAVIA COULD HELP TO RESOLVE, IS SWAPO'S SEEMING INABILITY TO APPRECIATE THAT UN COULD EFFECTIVELY NEUTRALIZE THE RESIDUAL SOUTH-AFRICAN PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA WHETHER THAT PRESENCE TOOK THE FORM OF MILITARY, POLICE OR PARA-MILITARY ELEMENTS.

5. RESPONDING, THE YUGOSLAV PARTICIPANTS ADVISED THAT UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES THE BEST TACTIC WITH SWAPO MIGHT BE TO AVOID PRESSURING THEM TO ACCEPT THE CONTACT GROUP'S PROPOSAL. ON THE BASIS OF HIS EXPERIENCE IN LUSAKA, PAVICEVIC ADVISED THAT PRESSURE WOULD ENCOURAGE THE WRONG REACTION.  
EAGLEBURGER

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